

IV. C. 2. (c)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

MILITARY PRESSURES AGAINST NORTH
VIETNAM

NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1964

Part III

#287

~~TOP SECRET - Sensitive~~

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GPO Book V4-287

October 1964 - January 1965

1. SNIE 53-2-64, 1 October 1964, pp. 1-3 passim. (TOP SECRET).
2. Ibid., p. 7; see also pp. 1, 2, 9 (TOP SECRET).
3. SNIE 10-3-64, 9 October 1964, p. 2 (TOP SECRET).
4. Taylor to Department of State, 14 October 1964 (TOP SECRET). 210
5. Taylor message to President Johnson, 16 October 1964 (JPS 303, DIG 161030E), described in CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Courses of Action, Southeast Asia," 27 October 1964 (JCS M-502-64) (TOP SECRET).
6. "Chronological Study of Infiltration from North Vietnam", 24 October 1964 (SECRET).
7. See Peter Grose, in New York Times, 2 October 1964.
8. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Analysis of Southeast Asia Actions," 21 October 1964 (JCSM-893-64) (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET).
9. JCSM-902-64, 27 October 1964 (TOP SECRET).
10. Ibid.
11. SecDef Memorandum to CJCS, "Courses of Action, Southeast Asia," 29 October 1964 (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET). See also Joint State/Defense message to Ambassador Taylor, 29 October 1964 (Defense 1342) (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET).
12. New York Times, 2 November 1964.
13. NSAM 314, 10 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
14. CJCS message to CINCPAC, MACV and Ambassador Taylor, 1 November 1964 (JCS 1451) (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET). 215
15. See Tad Szulc, New York Times, 2 November 1964.
16. CJCS to CINCPAC, et al, 1 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
17. Washington Post, 5 November 1964.

18. Described in CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Recommended U.S. Courses of Action in Relation to Viet Cong Attack on Bien Hoa Airfield, 1 November 1964 (SECRET)" 4 November 1964 (JCSM-933-64) (TOP SECRET).
19. Saigon 1357, in Taylor message to SecDef, 5 November 1964 (Saigon 251) (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET).
20. Taylor to SecDef, 3 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
21. JCSM-933-64, 4 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
22. See McNamara memorandum to CJCS, "Recommended U.S. Courses of Action in Relation to Viet Cong Attack on Bien Hoa Airfield, 1 November 1964 (SECRET)", 13 November 1964 (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET).
23. Jonathan Moore memorandum, 3 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (CONFIDENTIAL).
24. Ibid.
25. "Project Outline," 3 November 1964, attachment to Coreoran memorandum to Michael Forrestal, 3 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET). 216
26. See his description of work in Mustin memorandum to Chairman, NSC Working Group on Southeast Asia, "Additional Material for Project on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia", 14 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Book III) (TOP SECRET).
27. For example, see New York Times and New York Journal American, 2 November 1964 and Chicago Tribune, 3 November 1964.
28. Peter Grose, New York Times, 2, 6, and 8 November 1964.
29. Bundy draft working paper, "Conditions for Action and Key Actions Surrounding Any Decision," 5 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II.) (TOP SECRET).
30. Sullivan memorandum to Assistant Secretary Bundy, "Courses of Action in Vietnam," 6 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
31. CIA-DEA-IHR Panel draft paper, "Section 1 - The Situation," 6 November 1964 (In NSC Working Group "Working Papers"). (TOP SECRET).
32. McNaughton draft outline, "Action for South Vietnam," 7 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
33. Intelligence panel draft paper, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).

34. Ibid.
35. Mustin working paper, "Comments on CIA-DIA-IMR Panel Draft Section I - The Situation," enclosure to Joint Staff memorandum, 10 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
36. Ibid.
37. NSC Working Group on Vietnam (Southeast Asia), "Section I: Intelligence Assessment: The Situation in Vietnam," 24 November 1964, pp. 6, 7-8 (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (TOP SECRET).
38. Ibid., p. 11.
39. Ibid., p. 12.
40. Ibid., pp. 14-15, passim.
41. NSC Working Group on Southeast Asia, "Section II: U.S. Objectives and Stakes in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia," 8 November 1964 (In Draft Papers of NSC Working Group, 17 November 1964, AFMFDAS 8730-64) (TOP SECRET). See also draft (quoted in parts) in enclosure to Mustin memorandum to Chairman, NSC Working Group, "Comment on Draft for Part II of Project Outline on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 10 November 1964 (TOP SECRET) and Revised Draft, "Summary - Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 21 November 1964 (TOP SECRET) (Both in State Department Materials, Vol. II and Vol. IV).
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. NSC Working Group, Section II, 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
45. Ibid.
46. Forrestal memorandum to Assistant Secretary Bundy, "Comments on Input - II U.S. Objectives and Stakes in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia," 4 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
47. Sullivan to Bundy, with attached unclassified paper, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
48. Mustin to Chairman, 10 November 1964, pp. 1, 2, 3 (TOP SECRET).
49. Ibid., pp. 4, 5, 6.
50. Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 3-4 (TOP SECRET).

51. Ibid., p. 6.
52. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
53. Ibid., pp. 4-5. See also NSC Working Group, "Section II," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
54. Mustin to Chairman, 10 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
55. See Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, p. 7 (TOP SECRET).
56. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
57. "Project Outline," 3 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
58. "Alternative Forms of Negotiations and Related Supporting Political Actions - Alternative B," attachment to Robert Johnson memorandum to Assistant Secretary Bundy, "Courses of Action in Southeast Asia: Political Aspects (Further Thoughts)," 6 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (SECRET).
59. McNaughton's first draft outline, "Action for South Vietnam," 5 November 1964 (In McNaughton II) (SECRET). See also his "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," 3 September 1964 and "Aims and Options in Southeast Asia," 13 October 1964 (TOP SECRET).
60. See NSC Working Group, "Section III", 17 November 1964, and "Section VI," 11 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
61. Mustin to Chairman, 14 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
62. "Project Outline," 3 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
63. Bundy draft working paper, "III - The Broad Options," 7 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); Bundy draft working paper, "VIII - Analysis of Option C," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET) (Both in State Department Materials, Vol. II).
64. Robert Johnson memorandum to Assistant Secretary Bundy, "Comments on Draft Material for Report of NSC Working Group," 10 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
65. See McNaughton's penciled comments in margin of Bundy draft, "Analysis of Option C," attached to Bundy memorandum to NSC Working Group, 10 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
66. NSC Working Group, "Section V," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
67. Sullivan to Bundy, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).

68. See Bundy draft, "The Broad Options," 7 November 1964 (TOP SECRET) and its discussion of Option A (included as part of all other options).
69. Johnson to Bundy, 6 November 1964 (SECRET).
70. Bundy draft, "The Broad Options," 7 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
71. See Sullivan to Bundy, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); Johnson to Bundy, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); CIA-DIA-LMR Panel draft paper, 6 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
72. See NSC Working Group, "Section III," and "Section V," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); also Revised Draft "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 10, 12-15 (TOP SECRET).
73. See NSC Working Group, "Section III," 17 November 1964, and "Section VI," 11 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); also Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 10, 17 (TOP SECRET).
74. See NSC Working Group, "Section III," 17 November 1964, and "Section VII," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); also Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 10-11, 23-25 (TOP SECRET).
75. See Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 14-15 (TOP SECRET).
76. "Alternative Forms of Negotiations -- Alternative B," 6 November 1964 p. 20 (SECRET).
77. "Alternative Forms of Negotiations -- Some Comparisons of the Negotiating Situations Under the Three Policy Alternatives," 6 November 1964 (SECRET).
78. *Ibid.*; see also Johnson to Bundy, "Further Thoughts," 6 November 1964 (SECRET).
79. NSC Working Group, "Section VII," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 24-25 (TOP SECRET).
80. "Alternative Forms of Negotiation -- Alternative B," 6 November 1964, pp. 1-2 (SECRET).
81. See *Ibid.*, pp. 12-19 *passim*. (SECRET).
82. NSC Working Group, "Section III," 17 November 1964 and "Section VI," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); see also Bundy draft, "The Broad Options," 7 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
83. *Ibid.*; Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 25-26, 27 (TOP SECRET).

84. Ibid.; see also draft, with penciled comments, "Analysis of Option C," 10 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
85. Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 8-9, 15, 21-22, 28-29 (TOP SECRET).
86. Ibid., pp. 13, 15; NSC Working Group, "Section V," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
87. NSC Working Group, "Section V," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
88. Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, p. 15, (TOP SECRET).
89. Ibid., p. 16.
90. NSC Working Group, "Section VI," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
91. NSC Working Group, "Section II" (portion completed 11 November 1964) (TOP SECRET).
92. "Alternative Forms of Negotiation -- Alternative B," 6 November 1964, pp. 4, 4a, 4b (SECRET).
93. Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 17-21, passim. (TOP SECRET); see also NSC Working Group, "Section VI," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
94. Ibid., pp. 28, 29.
95. Ibid., pp. 25-27; NSC Working Group, "Section VII," 13 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
96. Ibid.
97. Marshall Green memorandum to Assistant Secretary Bundy, "Negotiating Positions on Vietnam," 16 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. III) (TOP SECRET).
98. Bundy memorandum to the Principals, "Issues Raised by Papers on Southeast Asia," 24 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (TOP SECRET).
99. Revised Draft, "Summary," 21 November 1964, pp. 20, 28 (TOP SECRET).
100. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Operation Plan 34A - Additional Actions (SECRET)," 14 November 1964 (CM-258-64) (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET).
101. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 14 November 1964 (JCSM-955-64) (TOP SECRET).

102. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 18 November 1964 (JCSM-967-64) (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET).
103. Bundy memorandum to SecDef, Director CIA, and CJCS, "Review of Working Draft on Course of Action in Southeast Asia," 17 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. III) (SECRET).
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106. Ibid.
107. Rostow memorandum to Secretary McNamara, "Military Dispositions and Political Signals," 16 November 1964 (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET).
108. Ibid.
109. Rostow memorandum to Secretary Rusk, "Some Observations As We Come to the Crunch in Southeast Asia," 23 November 1964 (In Vietnam 381: November file) (TOP SECRET).
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. New York Times, 24 and 28 November 1964.
113. Bundy to Principals, 24 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
114. Bundy memorandum to the Principals, "Issues Raised by Papers on Southeast Asia," 25 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (TOP SECRET); handwritten notes of Principals Meeting, 24 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
115. Ibid.
116. Handwritten meeting notes, 24 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
117. Ball draft paper in four parts (undated) (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (SECRET).
118. Handwritten meeting notes, 24 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
119. Ibid.; see also Bundy to Principals, 25 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.
122. Handwritten meeting notes, 24 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
123. See New York Times, 25 November 1964.
124. Taylor briefing, "The Current Situation in South Viet-Nam - November, 1964," 27 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (TOP SECRET).
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. Bundy memorandum to Principals, "Memorandum of Meeting on Southeast Asia," 27 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. IV) (TOP SECRET); handwritten notes of Principals Meeting, 27 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
134. Bundy to Principals, 27 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
135. Handwritten meeting notes, 27 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
136. Bundy to Principals, 27 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
137. Bundy memorandum to Southeast Asia Principals, "Scenario for Immediate Action Program," 28 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. V) (TOP SECRET).
138. Handwritten notes of Principals Meeting, 28 November 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid.; see also William P. Bundy "Memorandum to Southeast Asia Principals," 29 November 1964 and attachment, "Draft NSAM on Southeast Asia" (In State Department Materials, Vol. V) (TOP SECRET).
141. Bundy to Principals, 29 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).

142. "Draft NSAM," 29 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
143. Ibid.
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145. See NSC Working Group, "Section V," 8 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
146. "Draft NSAM," 29 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
147. Lundy to Principals, 28 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
148. Annex I to Taylor briefing, 27 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
149. Revised Draft, "Summary," pp. 25, 26, revised 25 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
150. New York Times and The Washington Post, 2 December 1964.
151. Handwritten notes of White House meeting, 1 December 1964. (CONFIDENTIAL).
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Statement to the Government of the Republic of Vietnam.
155. Handwritten meeting notes, 1 December 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
156. Text in New York Times, 2 December 1964.
157. The Washington Post, 2 December 1964.
158. Handwritten meeting notes, 1 December 1964 (CONFIDENTIAL).
159. Compare "Draft Statement to GVN," TAB B to "Draft Position Paper on Southeast Asia," 30 November 1964 (TOP SECRET); with "Draft Instructions from the President to Ambassador Taylor, as revised on 2 December 1964," Enclosure B to Joint Secretariat memorandum to JCS' "Ambassador Taylor's Visit," 3 December 1964 (JCS 2343/499) (TOP SECRET).
160. "Draft Instructions from the President," 2 December 1964 (TOP SECRET).
161. Handwritten meeting notes, 1 December 1964, (CONFIDENTIAL).
162. The Baltimore Sun, 4 December 1964.
163. NSC Working Group, Working Paper, Part VIII, "Immediate Actions in the Period Prior to Decision," 7 November 1964 (In State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET). "OPLAN 34A Missions" 26 November 1964 (In Vietnam 33A: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET).

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165. SACSA to CINCPAC, "OPLAN 34A-Maritime Operations (S)," 2 December 1964 (JCS 002524) (TOP SECRET).
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167. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Intensification of OPLAN 34A-Maritime Operations," 12 December 1964 (JCSM-1042-64); Deputy SecDef memorandum to CJCS, "Intensification of OPLAN 34A-Maritime Operations," 14 December 1964 (Both in Vietnam 381: Sensitive file) (TOP SECRET).
168. JCSM-1042-64.
169. Joint Secretariat memorandum to JCS, "Meeting of NSC Principals, 19 December 1964, on Southeast Asia," 19 December 1964 (JCS 2339/166) (TOP SECRET).
170. CJCS memorandum to Deputy SecDef, "OPLAN 34A-Air Operations, January, 1965," 31 December 1965 (CM 347-64) (TOP SECRET).
171. Section 2, "Meeting of the Principals, 5 January 1965" (A 3-ring binder, XPDRE7426-65, in USAF Directorate of Plans Repository) (TOP SECRET).
172. NSC Working Group, "Immediate Actions," 7 November 1964; also DIA memorandum to CJCS, "Evaluation of Communist Reaction to Barrel Roll," 31 December 1964, attachment to JCS memorandum to Deputy SecDef (subject as above), 2 January 1964 (CM-353065) (In Vietnam 381: December file) (TOP SECRET).
173. Joint State/Defense message to Vientiane Embassy, "Intensification of RLAF Air Operations," 8 December 1964 (State 508; Sullivan to SecState, 10 December 1964 (Vientiane 858) (Both in "Meeting of the Principals, 12 December 1964," a 3-ring binder, XPDRE8967664, in USAF Directorate of Plans Repository) (TOP SECRET).
174. JCS to CINCPAC, "Operations in Laos," 11 December 1964 (JCS 002848) (TOP SECRET).
175. Joint Secretariat memorandum to JCS, "Meeting of NSC Principals, 12 December 1964, on Southeast Asia," 12 December 1964 (JCS 2339/164) (TOP SECRET).
176. Section 1, "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964," (A 3-ring binder, XPDRE8968-64, in USAF Directorate of Plans Repository) (TOP SECRET).
177. JCS memorandum to SecDef, "Operations in Laos," 17 December 1964 (JCS-1050-64) (TOP SECRET).

178. Section 1, "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964," (TOP SECRET).
179. Deputy SecDef memorandum to CJCS, 29 December 1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file). (TOP SECRET)
180. DIA to CJCS, 31 December 1964 (TOP SECRET).
181. JCS to CINCPAC, "Barrel Roll," 4 January 1965 (JCS 003441) (TOP SECRET).
182. Section 1, "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964;" Section 1, "Meeting of the Principals, 5 January 1965," (TOP SECRET).
183. Cooper memorandum to William Bundy, "Public Statement on VC Infiltration (w/attachment)," 4 December 1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file) (CONFIDENTIAL); see also Section 4, "Meeting of the Principals, 12 December 1964."
184. Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, et.al., "Cooper Materials on North Vietnamese Infiltration," 9 December 1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file) (SECRET).
185. Rusk to Taylor, 9 December 1964 (State 1230); Taylor to SecState, 10 December 1964 (Saigon 1775, 1776) (all in Section 4, "Meeting of the Principals, 12 December 1964") (TOP SECRET).
186. JCS 2339/164, 12 December 1964 (TOP SECRET).
187. Taylor to SecState, 14 December 1964 (Saigon 1808) (TOP SECRET); Sullivan to William Bundy, 16 December 1964 (Vientiane 904) (CONFIDENTIAL) (Both in Section 3, "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964").
188. JCS 2339/166, 19 December 1964 (TOP SECRET).
189. State message to Saigon Embassy, 19 December 1964 (State 1312) (In Vietnam, December 1964, CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
190. Rusk messages to Ambassador Taylor, 24 December 1964 (State 1347 in CF-20) (State 1349--in "Meeting of the Principals, 5 January 1965") (TOP SECRET).
191. At the Principals meeting, 12 December 1964, JCS 2339/164.
192. Ibid.
193. "New Zealand Note," attachment to Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, et.al., 15 December 1964 (I-37154/64) (In "Policy-Vietnam, 15-31 Dec 64," RL(64)38-9, USAF Directorate of Plans Repository) (TOP SECRET).

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196. Service memoranda to the Joint Staff, "Establishment of International Force in South Vietnam, (S)," 6, 7, 9 and 18 January 1964 (JCS 2343/505-1,2,3, and 4) (TOP SECRET).
197. Enclosure to ISA memorandum to Deputy SecDef, "third Country Assistance to Vietnam," 29 December 1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file) (SECRET).
198. See Joseph Fried, New York Daily News, 7 December 1964; see also New York Times and Washington Post, 7 December 1964.
199. Taylor message to SecState, 9 December 1964 (Saigon 1763) (In "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964") (TOP SECRET); see also John Maffre, in story filed from Saigon, Washington Post, 9 December 1964.
200. Ibid.; Taylor messages to SecState, 9 December 1964 (Saigon 1760, in "Meeting of the Principals, 19 December 1964") (Saigon 1762-in Vietnam 381: December file) (CONFIDENTIAL).
201. Full text in New York Times, 12 December 1964.
202. Taylor message to Secretary Rusk, 20 December 1964 (Saigon 1877) (In CF-20) (SECRET); see also Peter Grose, New York Times, 22 December 1964.
203. Ibid.; Taylor messages to Secretary Rusk, 21 December 1964 (Saigon 1881) and 22 December (Saigon 1890, 1895, 1897, 1900); Rusk messages to Ambassador Taylor, 21 December 1964 (State 1318, 1320) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
204. Rusk message to Ambassador Taylor, 24 December 1964 (State 1347) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET); see also Peter Grose, New York Times, 23 and 24 December 1964.
205. Rusk to Taylor (State 1347) (TOP SECRET).
206. See Taylor message to SecState, 25 December 1964 (Saigon 1939) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
207. See Peter Grose columns filed from Saigon in New York Times, 23 and 27 December 1964.
208. See Taylor messages to SecState, 28 December 1964 (Saigon 1969, 1976) and 29 December 1964 (Saigon 1981) (all in CF-20) (SECRET).
209. Charles Mohr, New York Times, 30 December 1964; Seymour Topping, New York Times, 10 January 1965.

210. Jeck-Lavguth, in story filed from Saigon, New York Times, 6 January 1965.
211. Seymour Topping, New York Times, 11 January 1965.
212. See New York Times, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, and 27 January 1965; also the Baltimore Sun, 18 and 25 January 1965.
213. Reported by Peter Grose, New York Times, 25 December 1964.
214. Rusk to Taylor (State 1347); State-Defense message to Saigon Embassy, 25 December 1964 (State 1355) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
215. CINCPAC message to JCS, 262251ZDecember1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file) (TOP SECRET).
216. Taylor message to Secretary Rusk, 28 December 1964 (Saigon 1975) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
217. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Recommended Reprisal Actions in Retaliation to Break BQ Incident (TS), 28 December 1964 (JCSM-1076-64) (TOP SECRET).
218. Rusk message to Saigon Embassy, 29 December 1964 (State 1365) (In CF-20) (TOP SECRET).
219. For example see editorials in Providence Journal, 24 December 1964; New York Journal American, 28 December 1964; and Life, 8 January 1965.
220. See New York Times, 27 December 1964 and 3 January 1965.
221. See The Baltimore Sun, New York Times, and Washington Post, 4 January 1965.
222. See New York Times, 7 and 12 January 1965.
223. See The Baltimore Sun, New York Times and Wall Street Journal, 14 January 1965; in particular, see Arthur Dennen, UPI teletype news release from Saigon, 14 January 1965.
224. See New York Times, 16 and 20 January 1965; Washington Post, 18 January 1965.
225. Taylor message to SecState, 31 December 1964 (Saigon 2010) (In "Saigon Crisis, January 1965," CF-21) (TOP SECRET).
226. Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, "Notes on the South Vietnamese Situation and Alternatives," 6 January 1965 (In State Department Materials, Vol. V) (TOP SECRET).
227. Tb12. (TOP SECRET).
228. Tb14. (TOP SECRET).

229. Ibid. (TOP SECRET).
230. Department of State Memorandum of conversation, "South East Asia" (Conversations between U.S. and Soviet officials, Part V of VII), 30 December 1964 (In Vietnam 381: December file) (SECRET).
231. See New York Times, 5, 14 and 23 January 1965; Washington Post, 18 January 1965.
232. See Tad Szulc, New York Times, 4 January 1965.
233. McNaughton draft summary, "Observations re South Vietnam," 4 January 1965 (In "Drafts 1965," McNaughton II) (TOP SECRET).
234. Ibid. (TOP SECRET).
235. McNaughton draft summary with McNamara comments penciled in, "Observations re South Vietnam after Khanh's 'Re-Coup,'" 27 January 1965 (In "Drafts 1965," McNaughton II) (TOP SECRET).
236. Rusk message to Saigon Embassy, 11 January 1965 (State 1436) (In CF-21) (SECRET).
237. Rusk message to Saigon Embassy, 14 January 1965 (State 1471) (In CF-21) (TOP SECRET).
238. Rusk message to Saigon Embassy, 25 January 1965 (Copy transcribed by OSD in Vietnam 381: January file) (TOP SECRET).
239. See CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Evacuation of U.S. Dependents from South Vietnam," 4 January 1965 (CM-358-65) (SECRET) and Roche memorandum to the Joint Secretariat (Subject as above), 19 January 1965 (SECRET) (Both in Vietnam 381: January file).